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ABSTRACT

Information, analysis, and commentary are presented in a report that examines the progress and difficulties that states are having in assuming more of a moral and practical leadership role in achieving equity in higher education among minorities. The report discusses the fundamental dilemma states face in trying to foster greater institutional responsiveness to changing demographics. Next, an examination is made of two measures of state or institutional progress towards equity: an estimate of the differences between majority and minority participation rates, and an estimate of differences in graduation rates attributable to the effects of race and ethnicity. The problems of convincing a state's colleges and universities that improving minority participation and graduation rates ought to be high on their agenda are discussed, as well as efforts used to influence them to act, including the predominate use of court-imposed mandates. Finally, suggestions are presented on ways a state can achieve educational equity in its colleges and universities, including the act of making equity a priority, delivering that message clearly, selecting the person best qualified to deliver it, and developing and executing a plan of action. Contains 19 references. (GLR)

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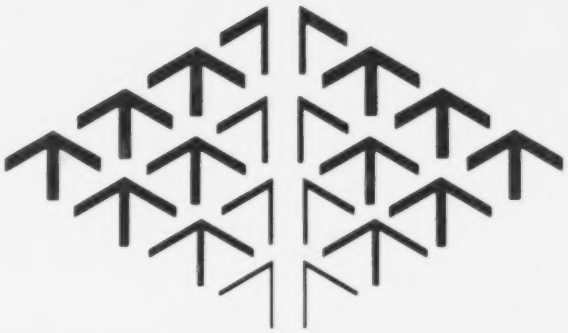

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The State Role in Promoting Equity

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THE STATE ROLE IN PROMOTING EQUITY

by

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This is the third in a series of papers prepared for the Education Commission of the States (ECS) National Task Force on Minority Achievement in Higher Education. The papers draw upon an ongoing five-year study being conducted by the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education (ED). The opinions expressed in the paper do not necessarily reflect the position of the OERI/ED and no official endorsement should be inferred.

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The State Role In Promoting Equity

Higher education is a responsibility of the states, but those concerned with equity issues have focused on federal leadership for most of the past century. The Morrill Act of 1890, closely followed by Plessy v. Ferguson six years later, encouraged 17 states to create the dual systems of public higher education that have figured so prominently in the desegregation actions of the past 20 years. The record of efforts to achieve equal educational opportunity during the past quarter century is largely the story of Title VI enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in only 19 states.[1] Most of the policy discussions of minority participation and achievement in higher education have implicitly or explicitly accepted the preeminent role of the federal government.[2]

While acknowledging the critical importance of a strong federal role, a 1987 report of the State Higher Education Executive Officers (SHEEO) called for the states collectively to assume a larger share of the moral and practical leadership.[3] Each SHEEO was urged to develop and implement a comprehensive and systematic plan based on the needs and deficiencies of their particular state. Among the state actions recommended:

- establish the issue as a preeminent concern
- remove economic barriers
- seek involvement with elementary and secondary education
- disseminate information about opportunities for minority students and progress in meeting their needs regularly
- search creatively for resources to improve minority programming
- ensure opportunities are available to minorities at both two- and four-year institutions

The report also included a number of recommendations clearly designed to strengthen the state role in shaping institutional policy toward minority access and achievement in such areas as planning and reporting, assessing students for admission, increasing diversity among professional ranks and changing institutional environment. The interventions identified envision a level of coordination that goes well beyond the historic state functions of limiting unplanned growth and distributing available resources equitably.[4]

The justification for these proposed measures, already in operation in some states, can be found in the experiences of the past decade. The level of participation in public four-year colleges and universities, never proportional for Black, Hispanic and American Indian students, has either declined or failed to improve as rapidly as high school graduation rates. Black, Hispanic and American Indian students who do gain admission to majority, four-year institutions lag behind their Anglo classmates in progress toward the baccalaureate.[5] Anemic participation and graduation rates in colleges, considered in relation to changing K-12 demographics, suggest the need for major efforts to avoid a society increasingly stratified along racial and ethnic lines.

Table 1 compares the race and ethnicity of students enrolled in public institutions of higher education in 1986 with those in the public schools for the U.S. and selected states in Fall 1984. All of these public school students will have completed high school or dropped out by 1996. While minorities will constitute "one-third of the nation" shortly after we enter the 21st century,[6] the impact will not be felt uniformly across states. Five of the states shown in Table 1 had Anglo populations in their public schools in 1984 ranging from 7 to 15% above the U.S. average. At the other extreme, four -- California, New Mexico, South Carolina and Texas -- already had or were approaching public school systems in which the majority of the students were Black, Hispanic, Asian American and American Indian. There also are marked differences in the composition of minority public school students across states. The rapidly growing Hispanic population is strongly concentrated in four Southwestern and Western states. While Blacks remain strongly represented in the public schools of Southeastern states, they also are well represented in the more urban Midwestern and Eastern states, such as Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey and New York.

In five states, Black and Hispanic students must increase their representation from 17 to 21% by 1996 in order to be as well represented in colleges and universities as they were in the public schools more than a decade earlier. Four additional states from this set need changes on the order of 13 or 14%. Only Massachusetts, of the remaining five, needs to change by less than 7%. Table 2 understates the magnitude of the changes needed because the data include community colleges and historically Black institutions which currently bear a disproportionate share of the responsibility for educating Black, Hispanic and American Indian students in many states.

The states included in this table were selected because of their participation in one or both of two studies on minority baccalaureate achievement conducted by the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, Research Center at Arizona State University.

TABLE 1

1986 Enrollments in Higher Education (HE)
Compared to 1984 Public School (PS) Enrollments

State	Anglo%		Black%		Hisp%		As/PI%		AI/AN%	
	HE	PS	HE	PS	HE	PS	HE	PS	HE	PS
US	82	71	9	16	5	9	4	3	1	1
AZ	82	62	3	4	12	22	2	1	4	11
CA	69	52	7	10	12	29	12	8	1	1
FL	78	68	9	23	10	8	2	1	<1	<1
IL	77	65	14	25	5	8	4	2	<1	<1
MA	90	87	4	6	2	5	3	2	<1	<1
MI	87	80	9	17	1	2	1	1	1	1
NJ	81	70	10	19	6	9	3	3	<1	<1
NM	64	45	2	2	26	43	1	1	6	9
NY	77	64	11	19	7	14	4	3	1	<1
OH	90	84	7	14	1	1	1	1	<1	<1
PA	91	85	7	13	1	2	2	1	<1	<1
SC	79	59	20	41	1	<1	1	1	<1	<1
TN	84	79	14	21	1	<1	1	1	<1	<1
TX	72	57	9	14	16	28	3	1	<1	<1

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education OERI
(<1 means less than 1%)

Higher Education and Change

The final report of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies on Higher Education underscored the fundamental dilemma states face in trying to foster greater institutional responsiveness to changing demographics. Colleges and universities prize historic continuity as evidenced by the fact that 62 of the 66 institutions that have been preserved in recognizable form since 1530 are universities.[7] But as the Council noted, colleges and universities do change and the process is instructive.

Public higher education is a resource-dependent enterprise. In 1984-85 slightly more than 45% of the current fund revenues of public institutions of higher education came from the states, almost all in the form of appropriations for salaries, operating support and capital projects. In that same year the federal government provided less than 11% of current fund revenues, but almost two-thirds of that amount was in the form of restricted grants and contracts, excluding Pell funding.[8] These figures suggest that it might not be too great an oversimplification to conclude that states have funded historic continuity while the federal government has concentrated on change. Students, whose tuition payments produced 15% of the revenues for the same period, also influence priorities by "voting with their feet," but they can vote only for the choices available.

It is against this largely passive state role in determining higher education priorities that the 1987 SHEEO report speaks. States can promote the inclusion of new clientele through the education opportunity programs many have initiated. They can alter the ground rules for assessment of outcomes and eligibility to advance to junior standing, as demonstrated in Florida, Texas and Georgia. They can challenge their institutions to improve undergraduate instruction and minority services as in New Jersey and Tennessee. They can require information about institutional progress toward achieving equity objectives and they can make that information publicly available, as in California and Texas. They may not win many popularity awards from institutions in this process.

College and university leaders prefer to establish institutional priorities through interpretation of institutional mission. They seek appropriations based on negotiated formulas that allow broad discretion in the use of available resources. They respond most readily to new priorities accompanied by new funding which is designed ultimately to be subsumed within the base. Leaders, with the full support of their faculties, resist assessments designed to measure their progress toward achieving state priorities, particularly when these involve comparisons with other institutions. They actively dislike schemes that link funding support to the attainment of prescribed outcomes, as in Tennessee's performance funding program. None of these preferences are in themselves wrong or bad. In aggregate they protect institutional autonomy at the expense of limiting the impact of state actions designed to cause institutional change. That is, of course, their intended purpose.

Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians share with other racial/ethnic groups in diversity in preparation, value attached to college-going and patterns of college attendance. They are distributed differently along these dimensions, however, as a consequence of historic

discrimination and its correlates of parental education, residential patterns and socioeconomic status. Differentially prepared students need more and different forms of assistance to meet the standards traditionally expected of college graduates. If such assistance is not available, participation is discouraged and attrition rates soar.

State and institutional policy leaders emphasize access and achievement when they influence colleges to move through three stages of adaptation identified in Figure 1 to serve multicultural students more effectively.[9] In the first stage, institutions remove barriers to participation through adopting recruiting strategies and admissions practices that ensure entering classes more accurately reflect the composition of the population from which they are drawn. Institutional efforts work best when supplemented by federal, state and private efforts to remove economic barriers through the provision of need-based financial aid.

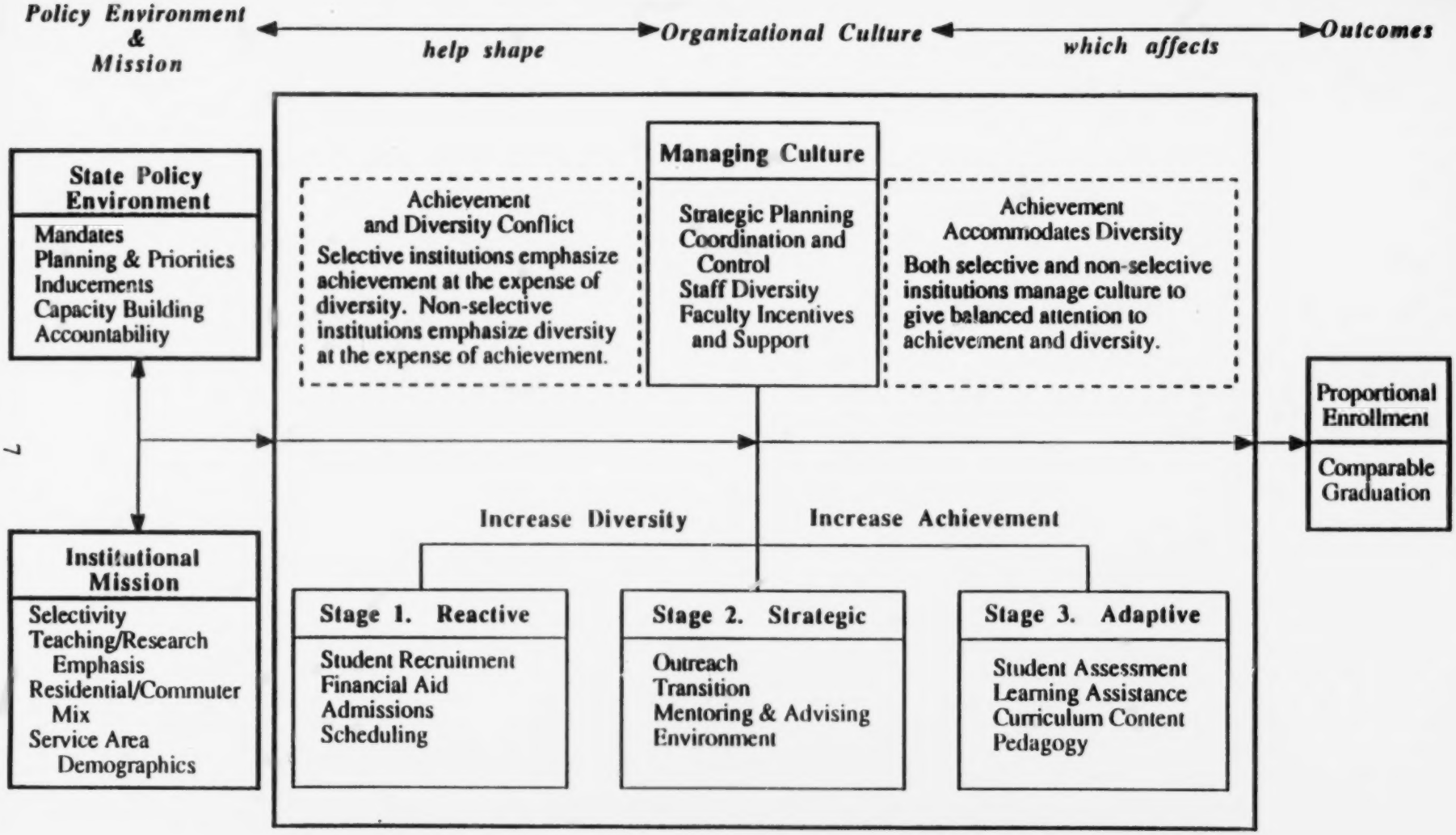
Policy leaders improve retention by developing the special programs and support services characteristic of the second stage of adaptation. Stage 2 interventions are typically developed under the leadership of student affairs staff and aim at expanding the pool of qualified minority students and assisting the marginally under-prepared to find ways of adapting to institutional expectations.

Administrative and faculty leaders move their institutions toward the third stage of adaptation by developing academic programs more reflective of a multicultural society, by using assessment to determine preparation gaps and learning outcomes, and by redesigning the learning process to encourage comparable achievement by more diversely prepared learners. In third stage institutions, faculty understand that it is unrealistic and counter-productive to expect students to do all of the changing and accept primary responsibility for helping more diverse students learn.

Institutional leaders manage organizational cultures to accommodate diversity and achievement by engaging in strategic planning, providing coordination and control, hiring more minority faculty and staff members, and using incentives and rewards to encourage faculty to become more involved in helping racial and ethnic minorities participate and achieve. As institutions move through the stages, their definition of quality changes from an emphasis on reputation and resources that excludes diversity to the recognition that any definition of quality must incorporate diversity to be meaningful in a multicultural society.

State efforts to encourage institutions to move through the three stages to improve educational opportunities for minority students presume the existence of a method for assessing current status and keeping track of improvements. On the strength of such an analysis, a state can design appropriate policy instruments to achieve desired goals.

A Model of Institutional Adaptation to Student Diversity*



* Student diversity has three major dimensions: (1) preparation, (2) opportunity orientation and (3) mode of college-going. African Americans, Hispanics and American Indians share these dimensions with other groups, but are distributed differently as a function of historic discrimination and socio-economic status.

Defining and Assessing State Outcomes

Two separate indicators are needed to measure state or institutional progress toward equity. The first is an estimate of the differences between majority and minority participation rates. The second is an estimate of differences in graduation rates attributable to the effects of race and ethnicity. Both indicators need to be assessed over time to provide trend information to help policy leaders set attainable goals, assess progress, and determine the need for corrective actions.

As part of a five-year study, conducted with support from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, Research Center at Arizona State University, has been working on indicators to permit tracking progress across states and across institutions using data from the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), now named the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), collected by the National Center for Educational Statistics.

Constructing and interpreting equity scores from an existing data base not designed for this purpose is a complex undertaking. The characteristics of the populations served are sufficiently different to make comparisons across states risky. The primary use of equity scores should be in the diagnosis of a state's problems and in keeping track of progress. However, comparisons, using "peer" states, may be useful in providing a rough indicator of how effectively a state system is performing for a particular racial/ethnic population. Southeastern states that rely on historically Black institutions as part of their strategy for achieving equity might constitute one appropriate peer group. Southwestern and western states could serve a similar purpose for Mexican Americans. States with large American Indian populations residing on reservations might constitute yet a third.

Equity scores for enrollment were calculated for each racial/ethnic group for each state by dividing the proportion of a group in public four-year institutions in 1980 or 1986 by the proportion in a state's population for the same year. A score of 100 indicates "proportional representation," or that in a given year the group was as well or better represented among four-year college students than among the population for the state.

Table 2 provides information about proportional representation for Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians for 1980 and 1986 among public four-year colleges and universities in 14 states.

This table understates the need for improved access to most majority four-year institutions in several of these states because the data include historically Black institutions which in Southern and some Border states enroll one-third or more of all Black students. In Tennessee, for example, the Desegregation Monitoring Committee reported that 36% of Black undergraduates enrolled in public colleges and universities in Fall 1985 attended historically Black Tennessee State University (TSU). For the preceding year, TSU awarded 28% of the baccalaureates earned by Blacks from public institutions in the state.

TABLE 2

Fall 1980 and 1986 Equity Scores for Enrollment
(A Score of 100 Indicates Proportional Enrollment)

State	Black		Hispanic		AmerInd/AN*	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
AZ	67	67	29	38	29	36
CA	86	(61)	43	(40)	100	100
FL	76	(62)	67	89	50	50
IL	81	(70)	47	47	100	100
MA	79	(68)	52	53	100	100
MI	62	(54)	51	69	100	100
NJ	83	(70)	70	75	100	100
NM	100	100	71	71	31	44
NY	45	(37)**	22	25**	100	100
OH	92	(57)	48	67	100	100
PA	100	(83)	69	70	100	100
SC	51	52	42	88	53	53
TN	94	(88)	49	100	100	100
TX	72	(68)	54	63	100	(71)

*Calculated with 1980 census data for both years.
**These equity scores should be interpreted with caution because of reporting practices in the City University of New York (CUNY) during this period.
(N) indicates a decline from 1980 to 1986.

The data in Table 2 reflect the national experience for this period,[10] but there were important differences among states and across populations. Black students lost ground in all states except Arizona and South Carolina. All of the states except California maintained whatever progress they had made in enrolling Hispanics. Hispanic enrollments in California increased from 8.3% in 1980 to 8.8% in 1986, but their representation in the population grew from 19% to 22% during the same period. Gains in Hispanic enrollments were particularly significant in Florida (2.7%) and Texas (2.9%). American Indians gained in representation from 1980 to 1986 in New Mexico and Arizona, the only states in the table where they exceeded 1% of public school enrollments, but they remain seriously underrepresented in both states.

While low participation rates for all groups and losses in proportional representation by the Black population are in themselves adequate causes for concern, the problem is by no means confined to enrollments. Equity scores were also calculated for graduation by dividing the proportion of a group who graduated from public four-year colleges in a state in 1980 or 1986 by the proportion present in the undergraduate student bodies of the same institutions four years earlier. A score of 100 indicates "comparable achievement" or that a

group was as well or better represented among graduating seniors in 1984 than they were among undergraduate students in the same institutions four years earlier.

Table 3 reports an estimate of the degree to which Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians earned baccalaureate degrees in 1980 and 1984 as a function of their participation rates.

Only New Mexico, New York, and Ohio appeared to have better graduation rates for Black students in 1986 than 1980. In New Mexico, the population is small (less than 2%), while in New York the improvement is impossible to interpret because of the reporting practices at CUNY during this period. All others reported declines, some of which were very large. South Carolina, which had the best graduation equity scores, had one of the lowest enrollment equity scores.

The situation was very different for Hispanics with most of the states reporting results that approached parity. From tables 2 and 3, it appears that the problem for Hispanics is primarily one of access, while the problem for Blacks involves both access and achievement. Arizona and New Mexico both experienced modest declines in the graduation equity scores for American Indians. The problem for American Indians, where they have not been assimilated into non-reservation populations, appears to involve both access and achievement, as it does for African Americans.

TABLE 3

Fall 1980 and 1986 Equity Scores for Graduation
(A Score of 100 Indicates Proportional Graduation)

State	Black		Hispanic		AmerInd/AN	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
AZ	81	(69)	100	100	81	(74)
CA	65	(45)	87	(83)	92	(72)
FL	70	(58)	100	100	78	(77)
IL	59	(51)	74	85	100	69
MA	94	(60)	100	100	54	100
MI	60	(55)	85	99	67	74
NJ	80	(60)	85	95	100	100
NM	72	87	84	88	99	(94)
NY	59	66*	63	100*	100	(71)*
OH	56	60	100	100	98	100
PA	67	(55)	25	83	80	(30)
SC	94	(91)	100	100	95	(32)
TN	84	(62)	100	100	100	(61)
TX	59	(58)	92	(87)	99	(81)

*These equity scores should be interpreted with caution because of reporting practices in the City University of New York during this period.
(N) indicates a decline from 1980 to 1986.

Influencing Institutional Agendas

How can states convince their colleges and universities that improving minority participation and graduation rates ought to be high on institutional agendas? What changes in mission emphasis need to occur if all institutions are to share the responsibility for access and quality? What accountability measures are needed to reward success and discourage failure? Who are the important state actors and what range of actions can they reasonably take without sacrificing an appropriate balance between institutional autonomy and institutional accountability? Answers to these questions are suggested by the experiences of the fourteen states on which this paper focused.[11]

Improving minority participation and achievement has most frequently been described as an institutional responsibility. Administrators and faculty members are the targets of recommendations for improving campus climate, teaching and learning and the curriculum.[12] While many useful strategies have been identified, progress toward improved minority participation and graduation rates has been disappointing. Institutions have been selective in the recommendations they have chosen to implement. Good practice in the form of "model programs" has been offset by traditional practices that have resisted the kinds of change necessary to make them more receptive to student diversity.

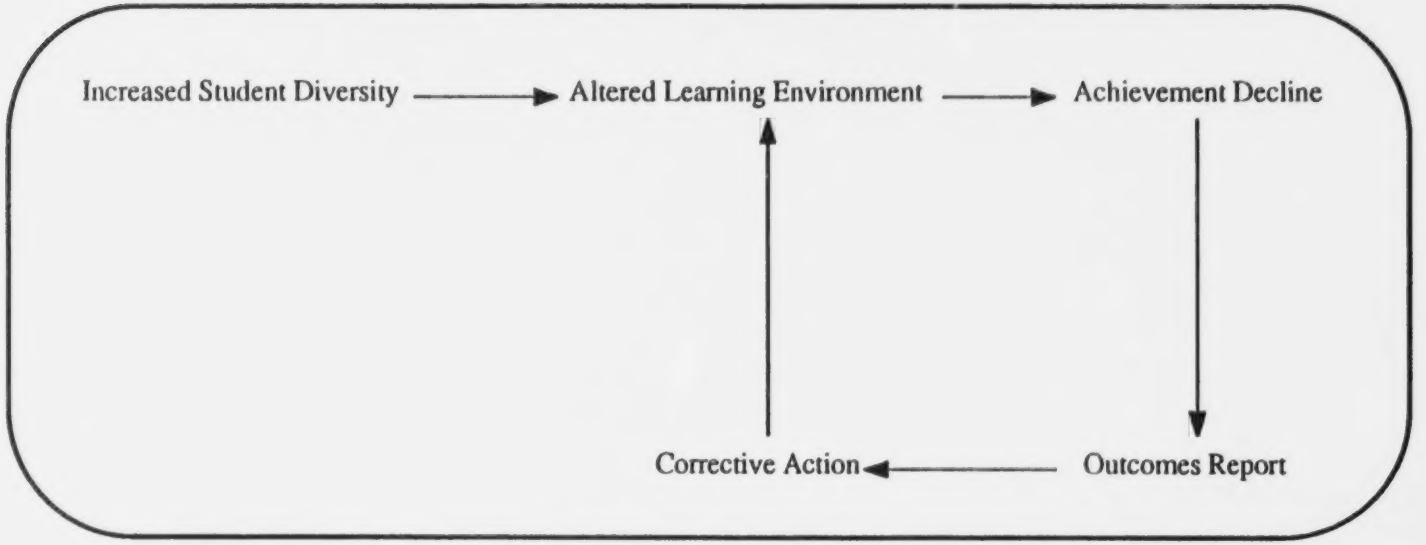
One way of improving institutional responsiveness to equity issues is to think of strategies and outcomes as circular rather than linear as suggested in the model in Figure 1. In circular models, the assessment of outcomes is used to change institutional practice. Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between outcomes assessment and institutional change in a single loop model. As more diversely prepared students encounter a learning environment designed for a different clientele, achievement suffers. If the institution assesses its outcomes, the decline in student achievement is reported to administrative and faculty leadership. Corrective action, perhaps in the form of remedial courses, alters the learning environment to return achievement to an acceptable level.

Single loop models are like systems operated by thermostats. If it gets colder, the thermostat will turn the heat on more frequently to maintain the preset value. However, the system is not designed to decide when the preset value is no longer appropriate. The extent to which we have viewed college learning environments as single loop models helps to explain their resistance to change.

The state policy process adds a second or learning loop to the model by providing a mechanism for questioning values and considering changes in educational systems of a magnitude not feasible within the single loop model. For example, the decision to create community college systems as a response to access issues would have been very unlikely within the institutional decision-making processes represented by the single loop model.

Figure 2

A Single Loop Model of Institutional Change



(After Birnbaum 1988)

Figure 3 provides a double-loop model[13] developed to explain the process through which colleges and universities change their campus climates and learning environments to improve participation and graduation rates for more diverse student populations. In the model, governors and legislators respond to public priorities and values by designing policy instruments to be implemented and monitored by coordinating and governing boards. The plans, resource allocations and outcomes assessment used by boards in responding to policy instruments exert a systematic influence encouraging institutions to devise more effective strategies for removing barriers, helping students achieve and improving learning environments as suggested by the model in Figure 1.

Figure 3 emphasizes the need to consider a state's history and legal structure (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt 1989) in any attempt to understand the compromises accepted as part of a particular design for resolving conflicts among competing desires for quality, equity, efficiency and choice.[14] History and legal structure shape political culture and determine the policy instruments chosen to achieve preferred values. Policy instruments are the link between the values emphasized by governors and legislators and the actions of coordinating and governing boards in selecting and supporting the strategies necessary to improve achievement by more diversely prepared students.

The policy instruments used by states to influence institutional agendas on issues related to the participation of Black, Hispanic and American Indian (B/H/AI) students can be classified according to their point of impact on the three stages within the model presented in Figure 1. The most common policy instrument, and the first chronologically to receive extensive use, was the mandate.[15] For 19 states, mandates reflect the history of federal efforts to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the subsequent litigation. Mandates present in the states considered within this paper are listed in Table 4.

Mandates have been used most commonly to remove barriers to participation among pre-stage 1 institutions. Court-imposed mandates were instrumental in bringing about the desegregation of institutions in southern and border states. They have been used in Florida to create an extremely persuasive environment for articulation between two- and four-year institutions. While mandates remove barriers, they do not produce the changes in institutional values and behaviors essential to the retention and graduation of more diversely prepared racial and ethnic minorities. The state policy instruments that focus on changing institutions as distinct from removing barriers to participation include planning and priority setting, inducements and capacity building, and accountability and evaluation. Table 5 reports some of the ways these states emphasized the importance of improving participation and graduation rates for Black, Hispanic or American Indian students.

Figure 3
Goals, Educational Practices and Outcomes: A Model for Studying Institutional Adaptation

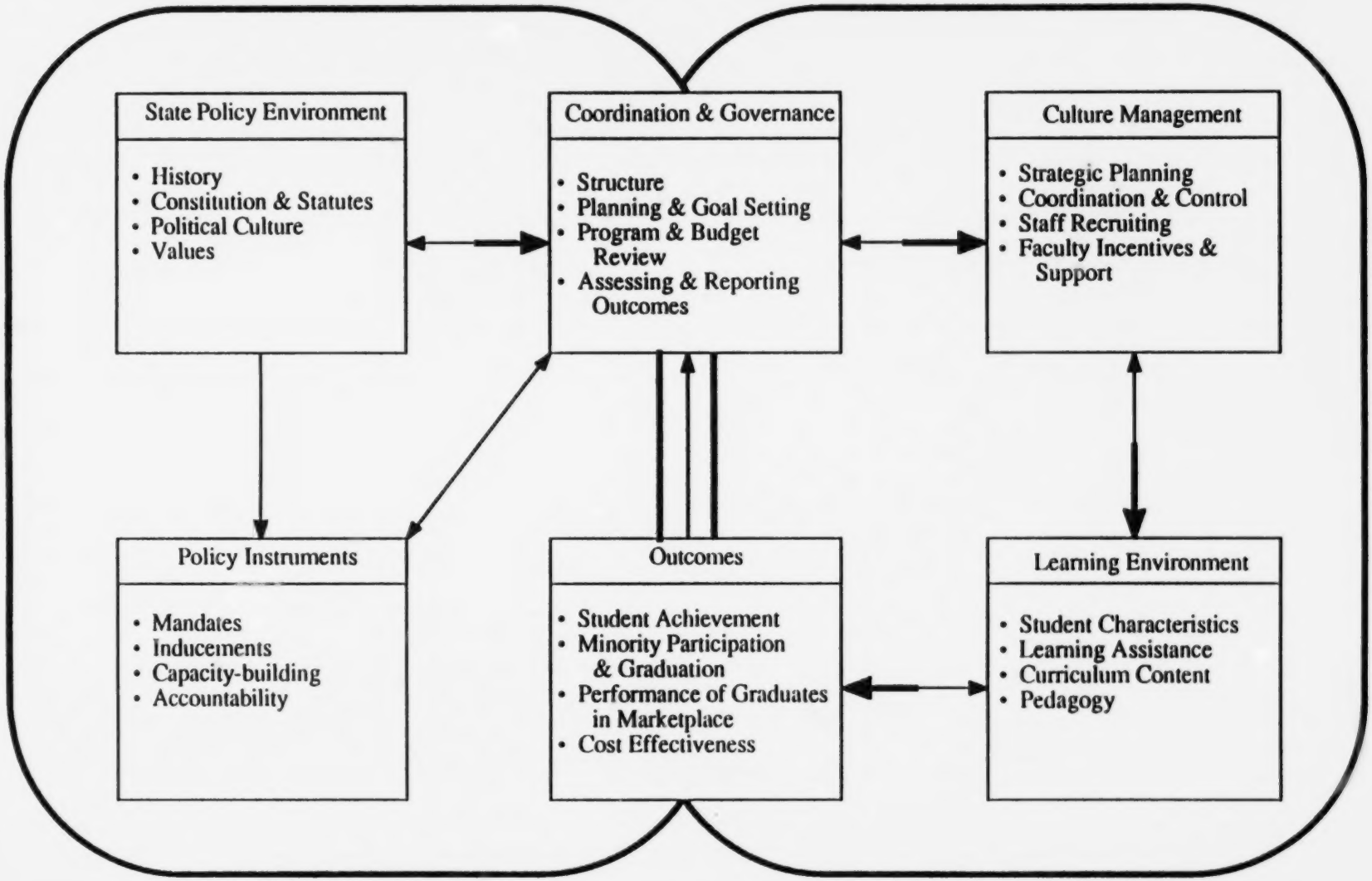


TABLE 4

Mandates

Actor	Action
Court of Law	Required studies of the impact of proposed changes in admission requirements on B/H/AI participation.
	Required plans for countering the adverse impact of changes in admission requirements on B/H/AI enrollments.
	Established race- or ethnicity-specific provisions for administering state financial aid programs.
	Required the enhancement of historically B/H/AI institutions.
Statewide Coordinating or Governing Board	Established criteria and policies for the special admission of B/H/AI students.
	Developed policies on the status of transfer students with associate degrees.
	Established guidelines for numbering lower division courses in two- and four-year institutions.
	Established common academic calendars for two-and four-year institutions.
	Developed policies on the distribution of baccalaureate students between two- and four-year institutions.
	Mandated institutional compliance with state policies on articulation.
	Established an approved high school course of study for guaranteed admission to a public institution.

TABLE 5

Planning and Priority Setting

Actor	Action
Governor	Placed emphasis upon improving educational opportunities for underrepresented minorities.
Statewide Coordinating or Governing Board	Published a policy statement identifying B/H/AI participation and achievement as a state priority.
	Developed a statewide plan for improving B/H/AI participation and achievement, including specific goals, timelines and funding requirements.
	Conducted regular statewide meetings of administrators involved in affirmative action or opportunity programs.
	Met regularly with representatives from the state board of education (K-12) to plan and coordinate collaborative activities.

The list, while not exhaustive, suggests some of the actors and actions through which states establish a policy environment that supports institutional efforts to improve the environments they provide for minority participation and graduation. In Michigan, a commission on the future of higher education, appointed by the governor, advanced a series of recommendations, many of which were subsequently adopted. In New Mexico, the legislature called for a study of issues related to the status of American Indians in higher education. That action led to the establishment of a similar effort by the University of New Mexico. A committee of the Illinois legislature sponsored a controversial study of access and choice in the Chicago area, leading to a series of studies by the Illinois Board of Higher Education. The California legislature has called upon higher education to improve higher education opportunities for minorities in a series of joint committee reports dating to 1969.

Beyond identifying the issue as important to state policy makers, attainable objectives must be established and roles assigned. Changing outcomes requires coordinated effort among a wide range of institutions, each of which prizes its autonomy. Getting such organizations to behave as members of a system in the pursuit of common objectives requires planning and coordination from an agency perceived to be beyond the arena in which institutions compete for their share of scarce state resources. In addition to encouraging cooperation among postsecondary institutions through a planning process, it is essential that some agency forge the critical links with state-level, K-12 interests, as the Ohio Board of Regents has done.

Institutions favor state policy initiatives that involve them in setting priorities and provide maximum flexibility in deciding how or whether to respond. The California Postsecondary Education Commission and the Illinois Board of Higher Education have long operated on the philosophy that getting items onto institutional agendas through collaborative studies and planning activities is one of the most important strategies through which they encourage recognition of state priorities. Because institutional representatives often favor plans that promise the minimum disruption in current ways of doing business, it is useful to include outspoken advocates for minority interests from the policy community in a format that allows each to temper the influences of the other, as was done by the Arizona Board of Regents in a 1989 planning effort.

Planning and priority setting provide the framework within which other policy instruments are selected and implemented. Table 6 provides a listing of state policies designed either to encourage institutions to respond to the priorities in a state plan (inducements) or to develop the capacity for responding (capacity building).

Pennsylvania, California and New York are among the states that have funded educational opportunity programs that contain elements drawn from all three stages of the model. The Trio programs, authorized under Title 4 of the Higher Education Act of 1965, illustrate the use of inducements and capacity building at the federal level. Opportunity programs emphasize outreach, recruitment and financial aid, transition activities, and mentoring and learning assistance. Through these programs, institutions are encouraged to include new populations and to provide the learning support necessary to their success. Opportunity programs also build capacity by bringing onto campuses minority professionals who subsequently provide leadership in helping institutions become better adapted to the new populations their programs have attracted. At UCLA, at least two of the key senior minority leaders on campus at the time of the study first became members of the university staff in the '70s as administrators with the Academic Advancement Program.

New Jersey and Virginia are noted for their use of challenge grants to encourage institutions to address quality and access priorities. Several states have developed programs designed to expand the pool of potential minority faculty members as an inducement for universities to increase the racial and ethnic diversity of faculty members. Many states have taken into consideration the extra time more diversely prepared students require to graduate in establishing guidelines for financial aid. New Jersey has provided incentives to independent, as well as public, institutions to encourage them to offer effective developmental education programs for students assessed as having deficiencies in basic skills. Through this program, the state sends the message that diversity, like quality, should be an important priority for all institutions.

TABLE 6

Inducements and Capacity Building

Actor	Action
Legislature	Provided funding for comprehensive opportunity programs for economically and educationally disadvantaged students.
	Provided grants challenging institutions to improve undergraduate achievement.
	Provided funding for remedial work in four-year institutions.
	Funded a need-based, noncompetitive student financial aid program which as a minimum offsets the difference between Pell awards and costs of attending public institutions.
	Provided entitlement or special scholarship programs targeted for B/H/AI students.
Statewide Coordinating or Governing Board	Developed statewide strategies for preparing and recruiting more B/H/AI faculty members.
	Convened discipline-related groups of high school and college faculty members to articulate course competencies.
	Provided leadership and support for collaborative programs to expand the pool of college-bound students in junior high and high schools with high concentrations of B/H/AI students.

Florida and Michigan are among the states that have provided inducements for institutions to work with the public schools. Mandates open colleges and universities to minority participation. Planning helps to make equity an institutional priority and defines appropriate strategies for its pursuit. Inducements encourage institutions to seek out and serve students who would be poor risks within their conventional academic programs. Planning is an ongoing process that relies on periodic assessment of progress and the use of resulting information to make mid-course corrections. The policy instruments states use to assess progress toward planning objectives, as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of inducements and capacity building strategies, appear in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Accountability and Evaluation

Actor	Action
Governor	Proposed a "report card," passed by the legislature, that requires institutions to report annually specified equity and quality indicators.
Court of Law	Established goals, time tables and monitoring procedures for desegregating the state system of higher education.
Legislature	Required assessment for all first-time-in-any-college students.
	Required students to demonstrate proficiency on a standardized test before advancing to upper division status.
Statewide Coordinating or Governing Board	Supported and monitored the operation of opportunity programs for economically and educationally disadvantaged students.
	Publicly disseminated institution-specific information on participation and degree achievement by race and ethnicity.
	Formally evaluated institutional progress in achieving participation and graduation goals for B/H/AI students.
	Rewarded institutional success and penalized failure in achieving goals for B/H/AI participation and graduation.
	Established monitoring procedures to ensure compliance with transfer articulation policies.
	Required colleges and universities to report student performance data to high schools and community colleges.

Accountability and evaluation policies are designed to track progress toward participation and graduation goals. This paper has shown how this can be done using HEGIS/IPEDS data to produce ratio indicators. A growing number of states, including California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey and Tennessee, already have in operation, or are developing, student unit record systems that support studies of institutional outcomes more sophisticated than those produced with ratio indicators. Student unit record systems can be used to follow high school graduates and transfer students and to report their performance to sending institutions. They can be used to record the success rates for developmental programs and to document the differences in the time to degree completion for differentially prepared students. Through use of student record systems, states can combine the virtues of cohort

survival studies with the capability of making comparisons across institutions and with other states.

The information furnished by measures of student participation and progress can be used to inform the public about institutional performance, as well as to revise plans and inducements. The public release of institution-specific aggregate student performance data motivates institutions to improve practice. The Governor of New Mexico led an initiative to pass legislation that requires institutions to report annually on specified indicators for equity and student achievement. Clearly, colleges and universities like to be well regarded by their constituencies and, when possible, will alter practices to avoid criticism.

More controversial is the use of performance data to reward success and penalize failure, as in the Tennessee performance funding program. Few states have moved to follow Tennessee's lead, although the challenge grant programs described under inducements can be seen as a less intrusive variation of performance funding. Challenge grants reward institutions, before the fact, for designing programs judged to have merit in addressing state priorities. But the funds directed to challenge grants might otherwise be appropriated as part of general funding support.

In the past several years, statutes have been passed in Texas, Georgia and Florida to require the assessment of entering college students and to ensure that prescribed performance standards are met before progress to the upper division or the award of an associate degree. Critics point to qualifying rates, which differ significantly as a function of race and ethnicity, as evidence that these quality initiatives impede minority progress. The model suggests an alternate explanation. In order to move toward stage 3, institutions must assure that all students reach comparable levels of performance across the entire range of academic majors. Assessment requirements shift the emphasis from participation, or even graduation in selected majors, to achievement. As a result, they contribute to the pressures moving institutions toward the adaptive stage. The New Jersey Board of Higher Education, the City University of New York and Wayne State have adopted their own comprehensive assessment requirements, eliminating the temptation for legislators to act to assure that diversity is not achieved at the expense of quality.

Assessment requirements work best in states like Tennessee, New Jersey and New York, where they are supplemented by carefully designed, state-funded learning assistance programs that provide a reasonable opportunity for students with marginal deficiencies to correct them without being required to attend a two-year institution. The provision that learning assistance programs be offered under the auspices of the academic staff within the Tennessee State Board of Regents system places additional pressure on institutions to move toward stage 3 modes of behavior. Assessment requirements work least well in states like Florida where the legislature made unrealistic assumptions about the time that would be required for public schools to correct preparation problems, and then compounded that error by assigning responsibility for all remedial work at the postsecondary level to community colleges, an action that clearly separated responsibility for quality and diversity. The correlates of this approach can be seen in the sharp reduction in participation rates for Black students in majority institutions in Florida between 1980 and 1988.

Few states have used evaluations of institutional progress in achieving equity goals as the basis for rewards or penalties in the way that Tennessee has currently proposed. Clearly threatening an institution's resources is the most intrusive action a state can take. As states move from less to more intrusive interventions, the costs in terms of political resistance increase. As one state higher education officer noted during the study, institutions have constituencies; state boards do not. Perhaps this is why accountability measures are less evident and more recent in application than mandates and inducements. Yet accountability measures appear to be an increasingly important component of the policy instruments through which states seek to promote the attention to access and achievement essential to a healthy economy and the continued well-being of a multicultural society.

Achieving Equity Through State Actions

States move toward the achievement of equity goals in higher education as they convince their institutions that removing race and ethnicity as a factor in participation and graduation should be an important concern for everyone. The first step is simple. Someone to whom institutions listen must say that equity is important and attainable. The initiator can be a governor, the legislature or a coordinating/governing board. Because influences are cumulative, ideally all three deliver the same message.

Once equity has been defined as a priority, the methods for its attainment are not fundamentally different from those used to achieve other priorities. Because there are many actors who must coordinate their efforts, planning is essential, as is good information. A governor, a legislator, or coordinating and governing board members can reasonably require the development of a plan which provides, at a minimum: current status, proposed objectives, strategies for achieving them, timelines and estimated costs. The process of developing a plan should include participation from those upon whose efforts the plan's success will depend. Particularly important is the involvement of strong representatives from the minority community to ensure that aspirations and frustrations push institutional planners beyond the "safe objectives" they might otherwise prefer.

The most important contribution of the plan is to provide state policy makers and institutional representatives with a sense of the range of variables that must be addressed in a systematic way if results are to equal expectations. The plan also provides a framework within which governors, legislators, board members and institutional staffs can cooperate effectively. Governors can ensure the issue remains high on the public agenda and receives appropriate consideration in budget development. Legislators can fund interventions aimed at getting selective institutions to become more concerned about diversity and open-access institutions to give greater attention to academic achievement for all students. Coordinating and governing boards can develop appropriate accountability measures to promote an appropriate balance between quality and equity in all institutions and to ensure that administrators and the institutions they lead are making acceptable progress toward planned objectives.

Colleges and universities must admit and graduate more minority students without compromising standards in order to satisfy state and national requirements for a trained workforce and a functioning society. The lack of progress during the past decade suggests the need for a more active state role in defining minority achievement as a priority and in monitoring institutional progress toward its attainment. The strategies through which a more active state role can be implemented without excessive interference in institutional governance can be discovered by observing the experiences of states that have already wrestled with the issue. Creative adaptations must be found to accommodate differences among the states in governance patterns and the characteristics of student populations, but little remains to be invented. Needed now is the will by state policy makers to employ these strategies in systematic and mutually complementary ways.

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Notes

1. See, for example, J. B. Williams, "The State Role in Achieving Equality of Higher Education" in Toward Black Undergraduate Student Equality in American Higher Education edited by M. T. Nettles. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp. 149-178.

2. In Higher Education and the American Resurgence, an important analysis written in 1985 by Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, there is clearly the assumption of a primary federal role.

3. State Higher Education Executive Officers, A Difference of Degrees: State Initiatives to Improve Minority Student Achievement. Denver, CO: SHEEO, July 1987.

4. J. D. Millet, Conflict in Higher Education. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1984, p. X.

5. The Cuban Hispanic population in Florida is a significant exception to this generalization.

6. Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, One-Third of a Nation. Washington, D.C.: ACE/Education Commission of the States, 1988.

7. Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Three Thousand Futures: The Next Twenty Years For Higher Education. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1980.

8. Source: U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, "Financial Statistics of Institutions of Higher Education" surveys, October 1986.

9. See R. C. Richardson Jr., Institutional Climate and Minority Achievement. Education Commission of the States, 1989, the second policy paper in this series, for an expanded discussion of the model as it relates to institutional adaptation.

10. The American Council on Education Sixth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education reported a continuing tendency for Black high school graduates to enroll in college at a substantially lower rate. Washington, D.C.: ACE, 1987, p. 3.

11. For a complete description of the studies see R. C. Richardson and E. F. Skinner, "Adapting to Diversity: Organizational Influences on Student Achievement," paper presented to the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA: March 27, 1989.

12. A publication by the American Council on Education, Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity. Washington, D.C.: 1989 is an excellent example of this approach.

13. See G. Morgan, Images of Organization. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986, pp. 85-95, for an extended discussion of single loop and double loop models of organizational change.

14. W. Garms, J. Guthrie and L. Pierce, School Finance: The Economics and Politics of Education. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1978.

15. The decision to classify state policy instruments as mandates, planning and priority setting, inducements and capacity building, and accountability and evaluation, was influenced by "Policy Design as Instrument Design," a paper presented by Lorraine M. McDonnell of the RAND Corporation at the 1988 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.